SEAPRAP RESEARCH
REPORT NO. 85

FAMILY STRUCTURE AND FERTILITY BEHAVIOR IN RURAL PHILIPPINES: A COMPARATIVE SURVEY OF THREE OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

MA VIVIAN T ALBARRACIN & CELIA O CARLOS
Quezon City, Philippines

March 1982

A report of research undertaken with the assistance of an award from the Southeast Asia Population Research Awards Program (SEAPRAP), Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Republic of Singapore

(an edited version)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The authors would like to record their appreciation to the following whose assistance and encouragement made this research project possible:

The Southeast Asia Population Research Awards Program (SEAPRAP) particularly its Project Coordinator, Dr. Wilfredo F. Arce, for the financial assistance granted this project;

Dr. Gabriel Alvarez for intensifying our interest in demography and for his invaluable suggestions to the research proposal;

Benjamin Francisco, our enthusiastic and tireless research assistant;

Girlie Villariba and Celia Bernardo, friends and indefatigable field researchers;

District Engineer Giovanni Caparros for his assistance in contacting key government informants;

Dr. and Mrs. Antonio de Leon and family for their unparalleled hospitality during our fieldwork;

Our field interviewers, particularly Mrs. Angelina Madrigal and Mrs. Pelagia Pastrana;

Merlita Mendoza for the skillful typing of the interview schedule, drafts and final manuscript;

Prescy Madridejos for speedily editing the draft; and,

Dr. Corazon Lamug for offering her home in Los Baños when we needed peace and quiet for the write-up.

Finally, but most especially, our thanks to the people of Angas, Pulong-Parang and Kilo-Kilo for the patience and kindness they extended us.

Celia O. Carlos
Vivian T. Albarracin

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

The Philippine government has policies and programs for family planning and development. Unfortunately, these policies and programs have inherent weaknesses. Firstly, the country's population policies and programs have been patterned after models which are too general in scope and application. The same policies and programs are implemented in highly urbanized Manila as in the remotest barrio in Aparri and Jolo. The problem lies in the paucity of data on more specific groups in the rural areas which naturally do not conform to the national urban-based model. For a country such as the Philippines, essentially dependent upon an agricultural economy, national policies and programs should be weighted in favor of and with due consideration to the country's basically rural populace.

Secondly, the country's population policies and programs which are mostly geared towards fertility reduction, are closely tied-up with national economic development. Family planning has been equated with family-size limitation, a conception indirectly traceable to planners' Malthusian anxieties. While it cannot be denied that gains in economic development cannot cope with a run-away population, it is fallacious to hold that there cannot be economic development if fertility is not reduced. Neither is it true that when the population's natural increase is controlled, economic development follows. In fact, recent studies tend to show that improvement in economic well-being does not significantly affect fertility trends. Evidently, economic variables alone are insufficient to explain fertility behavior. The relationship between economic variables and fertility does not necessarily exist independently of other social and cultural factors. The forces impinging on fertility display an interaction with the traditional belief system as well as factors arising from the complexities of contemporary life.

It is, therefore, imperative that other variables acting on fertility and family structure in the rural setting particularly be studied and investigated. Thus, this study attempts to fill the need for

sociological data to complement existing economic and technical data which have bearing on population problems and issues specifically as these affect rural Filipinos. Sociological data, we think, are just as invaluable and crucial as economic and technical data for the efficient and effective formulation and implementation of population policies and programs.

GENERAL OBJECTIVE

To provide empirical data for the recommendation of improvements and/or changes to family planning policies and programs for the rural populace.

SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES

1. To compare the family structure of three occupational groups, namely: farming, fishing, mining; and,
2. To identify and analyze variables (e.g., social, psychological, cultural, economic) contributing to the particular fertility levels of these occupational groups.

ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

The need for empirical data to back up family planning policies and programs for people in the rural areas in particular, cannot be overemphasized. Thus, this study was undertaken with the intention of finding answers to these questions:

1. Are the family structures and fertility levels in the three occupational groups significantly similar or different from one another?
2. What variables contribute to these differences or similarities?
3. What implications do these similarities or differences have for population policies and programs?

Evident from the preceding questions is a micro mode of analysis. A localized analysis of three occupational groups engaged in farming, fishing and mining is undertaken. The design of the study proceeded from

the assumption that an area's modal family structure and fertility performance is a result of the interplay of a number of factors which can be broadly categorized into socio-demographic, attitudinal and economic variables.

METHODOLOGY

Data Gathering Instrument

The design of the research project called for the survey method and participant observation. To gather data on the research objectives, an interview schedule was prepared and pretested before its final revision and translation into Tagalog. The following interview schedules were used:

Type I. Household Record Form - for all households (one page)

Type II. For household heads involved in the major occupation, and whose wives were of child-bearing age - some sections contained questions for the wives only (thirteen pages)

Selection of Pre-test Areas

Pre-tests were undertaken in areas closely similar to those planned for the study. Barrio Bayanan in Calapan, Oriental Mindoro was chosen to represent a farming community. The fishing community of Puerto Galera, Occidental Mindoro and the mining community of Norzagaray, Bulacan were also selected as pre-test areas.

The pre-tests gave the researchers valuable insights and aided them in reformulating some of the questions.

Selection of Research Areas

Upon arrival in the island province of Marinduque, interviews and discussions were held with provincial, municipal and barangay (a political

and administrative unit) officials for background information relevant to the selection of the research areas. Furthermore, discussions were also held with local personnel of the Bureau of Agricultural Extension (BAEX), the District Fisheries Office and the Marinduque Mining Corporation.

Final decision on the choice of the three communities included in the study was made only after an ocular survey of seven communities. This was deemed necessary despite the many interviews held and background data collected because of conflicting information from the resource persons and the statistics reviewed by the researchers. Accordingly, Angas was selected to represent a fishing community, Kilo-Kilo for mining and Pulong-Parang for coconut farming. All three are in the municipality of Sta. Cruz which has the largest land area and the biggest population in the whole province.

In all three cases, selection was based on the number of residents and households involved in and dependent on the major occupation of the place.

Selection of Respondents

A two-phase framework was used to determine the respondents to be included in the study. The first phase consisted of a complete census enumeration of the three communities. This was necessary to get more data on the community as a whole and to identify the households dependent on the major occupation. The second phase consisted of a follow-up interview of households whose heads are involved in the major occupation and whose wives are of childbearing age.

Data Collection

A team of interviewers were recruited among the public school teachers in each community. The interviewers were given lectures on proper interviewing techniques. Furthermore, they had role-playing and field interview practice as preparation for their interviewing work. The research assistant stayed throughout the data collecting phase to provide on-the-spot supervision of the interviewers and to observe local conditions.

Data Processing

Codebook preparation was started immediately after the returns were in. This was followed by the hiring and training of coders who completed the coding of all questionnaires in one month. Data computerization was done at the Agricultural Resource Center, University of the Philippines in Los Baños, Laguna.

Chapter Two

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Fertility, as all self-respecting demographers claim, is a sociological and cultural issue. This is so because fertility, the actual performance of childbearing can be largely controlled through various ways and means. In contrast, fecundity which is the physiological capacity to bear children, is almost invariable from one group to another. Thus, in a group of equally fecund women, differentials in fertility behavior can be observed.

For social scientists and policy makers involved in family planning, the main problem is that of identifying the factors that affect, control and/or regulate fertility behavior. These factors are largely socially determined, bringing the study of fertility well within the realm of social science.

Society's cultural norms, values and taboos directly or indirectly influence fertility. This is not to say, however, that social behavior including fertility behavior, will be the same for everyone in the same society. Sub-culture and social groups coexist although not always peacefully in one society. As can be expected, social behavior differs significantly from one group to another. The same holds true for fertility. The crux of the problem therefore, is: what accounts for differential fertility?

To our mind, occupational grouping is one variable, the profound influence on fertility of which has sorely been disregarded. A person's occupation is at the crossroad of his past, present and future. His occupational choice is largely determined and limited by certain ascribed and achieved variables such as his father's occupation, his education background and the circumstances of his upbringing. Similarly, his occupation dictates the comforts or discomforts, as the case may be, he enjoys or suffers. This is so because his income is almost solely dependent on the job he holds. His values, beliefs and behavior both in and out of work, are in large measure molded by the occupational structure he finds himself in. In the same vein, his aspirations for himself and his children, his hopes, his fears and worries hinge directly or indirectly on his source of livelihood. Indeed, as Richard Hall

succintly puts it, "... regardless of the level of satisfaction or intrinsic interest [that] a person has in his job, work is a central part of life" (Hall, 1969, p. 3).

The centrality of an individual's occupation being a fact requiring little verification, it is quite ironic that it's importance as a major factor affecting one's values, beliefs and behavior, apparently has not gained ascendance. This seeming disinterest in occupations as they affect social norms and structures, surfaces when one reviews the literature. Occupational sociology comes out as a poor cousin relegated to the background by the more "in" areas such as industrial sociology.

Studies about occupational groups in relation to family structure and fertility is lean picking. While studies have shown that fertility differs along occupational groupings, there have been no serious attempt to investigate why this is so. The peripheral importance attached to the relationship of occupation and fertility is further aggravated by the too broad categorization of occupations. A very good case in point is the unskilled category under which farming, fishing and mining are all lumped together with unskilled non-farm labor. Needless to say, it becomes impossible to discern differences within such categories.

Ralph Thomlinson summarized the findings of fertility studies conducted in the United States by ranking the various occupational groups according to their level of fertility. This ranking was compared with the ranking based on occupational status. The comparative ranking clearly shows a generally inverse relationship: high status occupations are associated with low fertility while low status occupations are associated with high fertility levels (Thomlinson, 1967, pp. 181-182).

Indirectly commenting on the antinatalist attitude in American society, Theodore Caplow pointed out that in the American family system there is no corresponding economic advantage gained by having children. In contrast, in traditional family systems, children have potential value as laborers which begins to be realized at the age of eight or nine.

Caplow stated further that the having of children appears to be an independent cultural value which competes successfully with the above ideology of occupational success. In the U.S., while the number of very large families continues to decline, so does the proportion of childless

families. There is even a definite return to the pattern of the numerous family with 3 to 6 children in certain urban, middle-class, high income groups. This tendency is sufficiently definite to establish that further urbanization and the spread of the middle-class conjugal family will not of themselves lead to any precipitous fall in the birth rate (Caplow, 1954, p. 272).

Going to the Philippine situation, studies relating occupation to family structure and fertility behavior is even scantier. In most population studies so far conducted, the husband's occupation is taken as just one of several economic variables correlated with the wife's reproductive performance. Almost always, the influence of the husband's occupation on his wife's fertility is subjected to cursory analysis.

Luisa Engracia and Yun Kim in their study entitled "Fertility Differentials Among Filipino Women" examined the relationship between demographic and social characteristics of women and their fertility. Among others, they found an inverse relationship between occupation of husband and fertility. Wives of white collar workers tended to have smaller than average number of children. Wives of farmers and fishermen on the other hand, exhibited the highest fertility level of all. The authors accounted for this fertility differential by stating that "occupational differences in childbearing pattern can be viewed in the light of educational differences as well as in consideration of the postulate that husband's attitude influence fertility level. Among the white collar workers, ..., we find attitudes that are in favor of and are manifested in fewer number of children. The higher reproductive performance of wives of farmers and related workers was attributed to the fact that the Philippines being predominantly agricultural, 'the value of child labor in farms becomes manifested in greater than average family size of land tillers" (Engracia and Yun Kim, 1979, pp. [illegible]).

On the assumption that the husband's occupation is correlated with wife's educational attainment resulting to a distorted fertility differentials, the authors investigated the same relationship holding the wife's education constant. They observed that given the same level of education, women with higher status as determined by their husband's occupation exhibit equal if not higher fertility than the lower status women. It is only among the unschooled women that the lower occupational groups become associated with higher fertility.

That there are variations in fertility along occupational groups is firmly established. The question that can now be raised is: in occupations sharing similar characteristics as in the case of farming, fishing and mining, will fertility differentials still be manifested? How can the variations, if any, be explained? What are the consequences of these differences, if any, to population control policies?

Chapter Three

SETTING OF THE STUDY: BACKGROUND ON THE THREE RESEARCH LOCALES

Brief Historical and Geographical Facts

The three research locales which included the fishing community of Angas, the coconut-farming area of Pulong-Parang and the mining community of Kilo-Kilo are barangays (the smallest local government administrative unit) located in Sta. Cruz, the biggest municipality of Marinduque. The island province of Marinduque is located south of Manila and its capital, Boac, is 137 miles from Manila.

Barangay Angas until 1928 used to be a sitio of Barangay Tagum. It is located near the sea just south of Tagum jutting out into a peninsula which serves as a gateway to Masaguisi Bay. It occupies about 287.18 hectares and is thirteen kilometers from the poblacion. The nearby seas, being rich fishing grounds, make Angas the biggest and the most steady supplier of fish for people in the poblacion. Edible seaweed abound in the shallow waters and big portions of its swamps have been converted into fishponds.

The farming community of Pulong-Parang is encompassed by the barangays of Tambangan in the southeast, Masalukot in the southwest, Napo in the north, Jolo in the west and Haguinit in the east. The end of Napo River bounding the north splits into Kaganhao River which serves as the boundary between Jolo and Pulong-Parang. Pulong-Parang is composed of six sitios spread on 500.09 hectares of rugged and rocky land. It is eleven kilometers from the poblacion.

Kilo-Kilo is bounded by the neighboring barrios of Libjo, Kagannao, Makulapnit, Labo and San Antonio. Until 1937, Kilo-Kilo was a sitio of Labo. Through a resolution passed by the municipal council, 378.56 hectares of land was officially separated and barrio Kilo-Kilo was thus created. Where before it is only accessible by horseback and walking, Kilo-Kilo is at present the most progressive barangay in Sta. Cruz, even surpassing the poblacion in some amenities like having 24-hour electric and water services, courtesy of Marcopper Mining Corporation. Sadly, progress exacts its ton, and in the case of Kilo-Kilo it takes the form of land, water and air pollution due to the lack of a proper disposal system for the copper mine's waste products.

Demographic Profile

The areas under study have a total population of 4,033 of which 2,060 or 51% are males and 1,973 or 49% are females. A total of 416 respondents or 208 married couples were chosen on the basis of the husband's occupation and the wife's age which had to be between the reproductive years of 15-59. The combined sex ratio of these three areas is 104 (104 males per 100 females) which is the same as that of the entire province. This is a figure similar to that of other areas in the country having a low degree of urbanization and is consistent with the national trend of a lower sex ratio in urban than in rural areas. On the individual barangay level, Pulong-Parang has a sex ratio of 97, Angas has 101, while Kilo-Kilo has 110.

The age-sex data also show the presence of a predominantly young population with 1,594 or 39.5% less than 15 years of age while 2,394 or 59.4% were between 15-64 years. The old population is relatively small numbering 45 or 1.11% of the total.

There is a total of 589 families in these three communities. Although these are rural areas with agriculture-based economies, the nuclear type of family is the norm. There are 519 (88.1%) nuclear families and 70 (11.88%) extended families.

The average household size is 5.81 member per household for the three research areas combined. Pulong-Parang (farming community) ranked first with 6.58 members per household, followed by Kilo-Kilo (mining community) which has 6.05 members and Angas (fishing village) with 4.9 members.

The average number of children per family is 4.61. Pulong-Parang has 4.91 children per family, Angas has 4.73 while Kilo-Kilo has 4.56 children. These figures are higher than the national average of 4.21, Region IV's 3.77 and Marinduque's 4.35.

Data on the educational attainment of couple-respondents show that of the total 416 subjects or 208 couples, 73.07% had some primary education, 20.19% had gone to high school, while some 6.73% had attended college.

A total of 528 births occurred in the three areas in the past five years. The mining community of Kilo-Kilo had the most number of births accounting for 281 or 53.21% of the total. This was followed by Pulong-Parang with 128 or 24.24% and Angas with 119 or 22.53%.

For the period 1979-80, there was a total of 124 births in the three communities. Kilo-Kilo accounted for 43.54% of these, followed by Pulong-Parang with 29.83% and Angas 26.66%. The crude birth rate (CBR) relevant to the period when the study was made was 3.07.

The General Fertility Rate (GFR) for the period of the study shows that there are 121.4 births for every 1,000 women in the population 15-45 years of age.

The Age Specific Fertility Rate (ASFR) was used to determine the age cohort that was the most fertile within the group of women in their reproductive years. This group was stratified into the following age cohorts: 15-24 years, 25-34 years and 35-45 years. The 25-34 years age cohort is found to be the most fertile with an ASFR of 11.4 per 1,000 reproductive women. This is followed by the 35-45 cohort which has an ASFR of 6.92 and which, therefore, proved to be more fertile than the younger 15-24 cohort whose ASFR is 2.02. This shows that older women maintain high fertility even to the end of their reproductive years compared to younger women less than 25 years of age.

The number of miscarriages and infant deaths occurring in the group of women respondents makes evident the high incidence of both. Within the group of 209 married women respondents, a total of 50 miscarriages and 39 infant deaths occurred even before the women reached the end of their reproductive years.

Economic Profile

Marinduque is a highly agricultural province with 60.7% of its workers employed in the agriculture sector composed of farming, hunting, forestry and fishing. Employed in mining and quarrying industry are 5.6% of the work force. This means that two-thirds of Marinduque's labor force are in extractive industries.

The BCS Survey for 1960-70 showed that the province's major crops are coconut, rice and corn, with coconut accounting for 66%, rice for 30% and corn for only 4-5% of the total hectarage. Marinduque has only a total of 9,199 hectares of arable land which is 9.6% of the total land area of the province. An overwhelming 90% are non-arable area with slopes above 30% and are not recommended for

cultivation of any kind of annual and secondary crops. Nonetheless, almost all of these non-arable land is utilized for cultivation of coconut, upland rice, corn and other cash crops although expectedly, with poor production. Besides the condition of the land, poor coconut production is mainly attributable to aging coconut trees way past their peak productive years. It is alarming to note that coconut production declined by 54% in a decade, between 1960 to 1970. Considering that one-third of the total population is dependent on coconut for their livelihood, the declining coconut production, if not halted and reversed, can and will be economically dislocating.

While Sta. Cruz is only second to Boac in terms of land area planted with coconuts (8,033 hectares v. 10,098 hectares), its copra production in tons is more than double that of Boac's (9,507 tons v. 4,730 tons). This apparent discrepancy is mainly due to the fact that Sta. Cruz has more arable land than Boac.

Next to farming, fishing is the second major source of income in this island province with some 15% of the population dependent mostly on subsistence fishing. Again, Sta. Cruz has the biggest number of residents engaged in fishing accounting for 24% of roughly 9,000 fishermen all over Marinduque.

There are three mining establishments in Marinduque. Of these, two have operations of national significance, both having copper concentrates as the main product with gold and silver as by-products. The third one produces lime. Marcopper is a much bigger operation with a rated capacity of about 20,000 metric tons of ore per day against Consolidated Mines, Inc's 3,000 MT/day. Between these two mining companies, they employ 2,279 people or 7% of the province's gainfully employed. Records in 1978 show some 1,612 persons employed by Marcopper.

Of the total population 10 years old and over, 51,818 persons are economically active with a labor force participation rate of 46.3%. This low labor force participation rate is further reflected in the province's low total income of families which at ₱104,851 million annually, represented only 2.2% of the total family income for the whole Southern Luzon region. Likewise, the annual average family income of the province, which is ₱3,705, is much lower than the region's average family income of ₱5,442.

In Pulong-Parang, the employment rate is 54.34%, in Angas, 55.46% and in Kilo-Kilo, 40.22%. The very low employment rate in Kilo-Kilo may be explained by the fact that self-employment is not the norm in a mining village unlike in farming and fishing communities. Likewise, there is a much lower female employment rate in Kilo-Kilo (14.02%) than in Pulong-Parang (26.03%) and Angas (26.78).

There is an overwhelming number of youth dependents especially in Kilo-Kilo (YDR 85.98%). Pulong-Parang comes next with a YDR of 72.64%, and Angas a poor third at 44.29%. Considering that the dependency ratio is computed on the basis of a potential labor force plus the fact of low employment rate in these areas, the working populace is heavily burdened by unproductive dependents. Definitely, the combined trends of high fertility, high dependency and low employment must be arrested to make possible an improved quality of life among our rural populace.

Chapter Four

PRESENTATION OF THE CHAPTER'S FINDINGS

Section One presents the profile of the respondents with emphasis on their socio-demographic characteristics, job history, personal aspirations, hopes and worries. Fertility differentials along selected socio-demographic, economic and attitudinal variables are likewise discussed in this section.

Section Two makes a comparison between farmers, fishermen and miners and examines whether a significant difference exists among them in terms of selected demographic and socio-economic variables.

Section Three analyses the differences and similarities between the research locale's natives and migrants. Indirectly, the effects of migration on traditional institutions such as the family and kinship as well as the local economy are highlighted.

Section One: Respondents' Profile

Table 1 summarizes some selected socio-demographic traits of the respondents. In terms of age at the time of interview, records show 18.7% of them are aged between 21-29 years, 42.3% are in their thirties and 33.2% are in their forties. A small minority of 5.8% are between 50-56 years of age.

As to be expected, the wives in general are younger than the respondent-husbands since the study is restricted to women of child-bearing ages. We have 2 wives below 21 years, 28.4% are in their twenties and 42.8% are in their thirties. Wives in the late reproductive ages of 40 to 49 years constitute a sizeable 27.9%.

The age difference between spouses ranges from a few days to 15 years. Twelve percent of spouses were born in the same year, 44.7% have from 1 to 3 years age difference, 10.6% have a 7 to 10 years age gap while 5.3% are more than 10 years their spouses' junior or senior.

A little over two-thirds of the respondents are middle-born children. 22.1% of them are the eldest while 8.7% are youngest in their families of orientation. Two respondents are only child.

With the exception of only one respondent who is a Protestant, all others are Catholics. While the Philippines is predominantly Catholic, it appears that our respondents are virtually unanimously Catholics. This fact can be interpreted two ways: either the rural populace is not attracted to other religions, or, the rural populace is not a target for religious conversion. Apparently, the religious minority (non-Catholics) reside in the town proper.

An overwhelming majority of 92.8% keep nuclear households. There is only one extended household in Kilo-Kilo, four in Angas and ten in Pulong Parang. Usually, in extended households, we find the household head's widowed mother. This finding is in sharp contrast to the popularly held belief that the extended family system characterizes most of Filipino homes especially in the rural areas.

The nuclear household arrangement, however, is a later development since 77.8% started out in their married life by staying with either their parents or their wives' parents. The oft-mentioned reason for couples staying with parents right after marriage is that they do not have a house of their own yet (63.5%). Other reasons given are: they have no stable income yet; they had to serve or take care of their parents; to learn about married life; they did not want to live alone.

Household size ranges from 2 (husband and wife) to 12. The modal household size is 5 to 6 members. With regards to the number of working household members, a majority of households have only the household head as the breadwinner. A little over one-fifth of households have 2 income earners while the rest have from 3 to 5 working household members.

Table 1

Socio-Demographic Characteristics
Present Age of Respondents and
Respondents' Wives

	Respondents		Wives	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
19 - 20			2	.9
21 - 29	39	18.7	59	28.4
30 - 39	88	42.3	89	42.8
40 - 49	69	33.2	58	27.9
50 - 56	12	5.8		

Sibling Rank	Respondents Number	Percent
Only child	2	9
Eldest	46	22.1
Middle	142	68.3
Youngest	18	8.7

Religious Affiliation	Respondents Number	Percent
Catholic	207	99.5
Protestant	1	.5

Household Type	Pulong-Parang No.	Percent	Angas No.	Percent	Kilo-Kilo No.	Percent
Nuclear	68	87.2	63	94.0	62	98.4
Extended	10	12.8	4	6.0	1	1.6

Household Size	Respondents Number	Percent
2	4	1.9
3	17	8.2
4	23	11.1
5	40	19.2
6	39	18.8
7	23	11.1
8	25	12.0
9	19	9.1
10-12	18	8.6

Number of Working Household Members	Respondents Number	Percent
1	148	71.2
2	46	22.1
3-5	14	6.7

Crosstabulating household size and the number of working household members, it appears that the bigger the household size, the chances that there are 2 or more working household members increase. However, it does not necessarily follow that income increases correspondingly with number of working household members. It is therefore not safe to assume that a big household is an economic advantage. It might be that the sheer size of the household dictates that more members find work.

Job History

Non-mobility in their jobs characterize 51.4% of the respondents. A little less than one-third have had 2 jobs since they joined the employed rank while 17.8% held 3 to 4 jobs before they settled with their present jobs.

Close to one-half (48.6%) have had farming jobs when they first started to work. For their first job, an equal percentage of 16.8% were fishermen or unskilled non-agricultural workers. A small percentage of 6.3% started out as miners while 11.5% have had skilled non-agricultural jobs.

From these data, it is apparent that farming lost 11% of its workers to either fishing or mining. This means that a number of fishermen and miners used to be farmers before. On the other hand, a shift from mining or fishing to farming is virtually non-existent.

Of those who had more than one job, the most common reason forwarded for leaving their first job is the low remuneration they were getting. The second opt-repeated reason is ejection and/or termination of work contract. With lesser frequency, other reasons given are: migration, poor health, long hours, too strenuous/dangerous.

At ages between 10 to 14 years, 13.1% joined the labor force. The mode is to start working at the ages between 15 to 19 years as confirmed by 47.5%. It appears, therefore, that close to two-thirds found it necessary to find a job while still in their teens.

Table 2A

Number of Jobs Held

Number of Jobs	Number	Percent
One	107	51.4
Two	64	30.8
Three	25	12.0
Four	12	5.8
T o t a l	208	160.0

Table 2B

First Job Held

First Job	Number	Percent
Farmer	101	51.4
Fishermen	35	16.8
Miner	13	6.3
Unskilled Non-Agricultural	35	16.8
Skilled Non-Agricultural	24	11.5
T o t a l	208	100.0

Table 2C

Age at First Job

Age	Number	Percent
10-14	26	13.1
15-19	94	47.5
20-24	50	25.3
25 and up	28	14.1
T o t a l	198	100.0
NR	10	

Going a generation back, the respondents were asked about their fathers' residential origin and occupation. Geographical and occupational mobility appears to be no trait of a great majority of the respondents. Over one-half have fathers who are natives of the place which means that an equal proportion are at least second generation residents of the area. Twenty-four percent have fathers originating from other barrios of Sta. Cruz while 15.5% have fathers originally from other parts of Marinduque. Only a small minority have fathers who are natives of places outside Marinduque.

Two-thirds have fathers who were engaged in farming while 19.2% have fathers who were fishermen. Since close to one-half of the respondents started out as farmers, it is likely that for a while they tried out their fathers' occupation and just shifted to another job later on.

In terms of generational job mobility, the data show 54.9% having had no mobility. Job inheritance, therefore, is quite high. Horizontal mobility or a change from one job to another job of the same status was experienced by 32.4%. Eight respondents suffered downward mobility in that their fathers were professionals while they ended up with non-professional low-status jobs.

Table 3A

Father's Residential Origin

Residential Origin	Number	Percent
Same barrio	105	52.0
Another barrio in Sta. Cruz	48	23.8
Outside Marinduque	18	8.9
Within Marinduque	31	15.3
T o t a l	202	100.0
NR	6	

Table 3B

Father's Occupation

Occupation	Number	Percent
Farmer	134	66.0
Fishermen	39	19.2
Miner	2	1.0
Unskilled Non-Agricultural	13	6.4
Skilled Non-Agricultural	12	5.9
Professional	3	1.5
T o t a l	203	100.0
NR	5	

Table 3C

Occupational Generational Mobility

Mobility	Number	Percent
No mobility	112	54.9
Horizontal	66	32.4
Non-Agricultural to Agricultural	18	8.8
Professional to Agricultural	8	3.9
T o t a l	204	100.0
NR	4	

Concommitant to their jobs, the respondents were queried about their annual income. Almost three-fourths are earning incomes even below the poverty threshold, with 51.8% earning ₱1,500 or less a year. A little over 10% have annual incomes ranging from ₱5,000.00 to ₱15,000.00 while 17.8% earn more than ₱15,000.00.

It should pose no surprise that when asked to assess their income, 35.8% readily stated that their income is very insufficient for their

needs. For 51.5%, the claim that their income is insufficient is difficult to contest. Only 12.7% can proudly declare to having sufficient income.

Low income notwithstanding, 40.4% revealed they have some savings stashed away for the education of their children (41.8%), for their old age (32.9%), for emergency (10.1%), for investment in the future (7.6%), or to build a house (7.6%).

The respondents were likewise asked whether they own the lot where their houses stand. There is almost an equal proportion of houselot owners and non-owners. Those who do not own the lot where they are presently residing usually have it rent-free or for a minimal fee only. This somehow explains why a number of respondents can save even with very little income.

Job Satisfaction

Despite their low income, two out of three respondents claim satisfaction with their present jobs. However, for 49.6%, job satisfaction is anchored on the sad reality that they are unskilled for other better-paying jobs. The other half has better reasons for job satisfaction in that they believe they have dependable jobs with good remuneration.

Job dissatisfaction like its opposite, is basically premised on financial returns. Seven out of ten who are dissatisfied with their jobs complain about their low income. Other cases of dissatisfaction are: slow promotion, difficulty of the job, inadequate equipment and skills.

Are they willing to learn a new job? Seventy-eight percent replied positively to this question, the rest, negatively. Probed to mention a specific job they want to learn, 21.7% responded vaguely - "any job where income will be better". Considering that the respondents are rural residents, the percentages of those opting for farming (11.8%), fishing (2.6%) and mining (1.3%) are rather low. The attraction of white-collar jobs is evident in the choice of jobs 62.5% would want to learn.

For those who were unwilling to learn new jobs, most commonly cited reasons are: old age and/or physical incapacity (45.4%) and lack of financial capability (34.1%).

What jobs would they want for their sons? "It is for them to decide" said 29%. Again, few regarded their present jobs as good enough for their own sons with 11.5% opting for farming, 2.2% for fishing and 2.7% for mining. The preference of the others are professional jobs (16.5%), skilled jobs (15.9%), salaried or contractual service jobs (13.2%), clerical jobs (8.8%).

With their present economic standing as reference point, the respondents compared their status five years ago and five years hence. Among those who made a comparison of their past and present economic standing, 34.6% opined that they are better off presently as against 20.1% who felt they are worse off now. More than 2/5 believed there had been no change for better or worse.

There is a high percentage (38.5%) of respondents who felt they cannot make an assessment of their future economic standing. Of the remainder who made such an assessment, the trend for sameness or no change again surfaced with 46.1% opining that their future economic status will be about the same as at present. Pessimism characterizes the thinking of 53.8% who predict a worsening personal economic status, in contrast to an optimistic 30.4%.

The primacy of economic consideration in the minds of the respondents is again reflected in their personal worries and hopes. Their insufficient income is the main worry of 59%. Concommitantly, 81% hope for an improvement in their finances. Other worries mentioned are: ill health (28.3%), political disorder or war (5.4%), natural calamities (28.3%), death (2.4%). For others, their hopes are centered on being able to send their children to school (14.1%) and enjoying good health (4.9%).

Educational Attainment

The data in Table 4 establish the low educational attainment of the respondents with 69.2% having attended only the primary or elementary grades. Likewise, among the wives, 73.5% share this low level of education. Among the small proportion of the college educated, it is noteworthy to find more wives than husbands, indicating that some women married down. During our fieldwork, we found a number of elementary school teachers who got married to non-college graduate farmers, fishermen or miners. Two or three even married their former students.

Needless to say, it is not uncommon that the wife is several years older than her husband.

Table 4

Educational Attainment of Respondents and Wives

Educational Attainment	Respondents No.	Respondents %	Wives No.	Wives %
No education	70	33.6	2	1.0
Primary	70	33.6	51	24.5
Elementary	74	35.6	102	44.0
Some high school	21	10.1	16	7.7
High school graduate	31	14.9	21	10.1
College	12	5.8	16	7.1
T o t a l	208	100.0	208	100.0

The influence of educational background on a host of socio-demographic, economic and attitudinal variables is clearly shown when it was crosstabulated as a dependent variable. Educational attainment is found to have a high significant relationship with the number of jobs held by respondents, number of working household members, annual income, savings, lot ownership, assessment of present and future economic status.

Educational Attainment and Number of Jobs Held

Lack of education can virtually chain a person to a job. Table 4A dramatically reveals a highly significant relationship between educational attainment and job mobility. While 72.2% of those with primary or no education held only one job since they started working up to the present, only 20.9% of those respondents with high school and further education stuck to a single job. Of the 107 single job-holders, an overwhelming 87.8% have had only elementary education or even less.

Untrained and unqualified to hold other jobs except the one they were born and raised into, the poorly educated country folk ekes a living from a job he inherited from his father, the same job he will pass on to his own sons in great likelihood. Not surprisingly, many Filipinos believe that only a college diploma will deliver them from their perpetual bondage to the soil or the sea. Thus, it is quite common to find very poor Filipino families sending a son or a daughter to college at great sacrifice to themselves in the hope that the coveted college diploma will be the magicpasskey to a better life.

Table 4A

Educational Attainment by Number of Jobs Held
(in percent)

Educational Attainment	Number of Jobs			
	One	Two	Three or More	Total
None/Primary	72.2 48.6	20.8 23.4	7.0 13.5	(72)
Elementary	56.8 39.2	32.4 37.5	10.8 21.6	(74)
High School and above	21.0 12.2	40.3 39.1	38.7 64.8	(62)
T o t a l	100.0	100.0	100.0	
NR	(107)	(64)	(37)	

Educational Attainment and Number of Working Household Members

It is worth noting that in 46.6% of households where the household heads have primary or less education, there is at least one other working household member. For secondary or better educated household heads, only 21.6% are aided by other income earners. Our assertion that the number of income earners in a household does not directly correspond to the amount of household income is borne out by our findings where it is shown that the better-educated respondents have higher income although these same better-educated respondents are usually the sole breadwinner.

Educational Attainment by Annual Income

The immense influence of education on earning capacity is clearly evident when educational attainment is crosstabulated with annual income. Where 76.9% of those who have had at least high school education earn ₱8,000 or more per annum, only 3.8% with primary or no education earn the same. A majority of respondents with low or no educational attainment have yearly income of ₱1,500 or less, in sharp contrast to their more educated counterparts.

The data on the wives' educational qualification and annual household income essentially follow the same pattern. Wives with less formal education tend to come from low-earning households while wives with at least secondary schooling belong to high-income households. It can be inferred from these data that in general, marriages occur between couples of similar educational background.

There is a simple explanation for this significant relationship between education and income. Better education begets better job; better job begets better income.

Educational Attainment by Savings

Although it is not always the case that those with big income have savings, it is even harder for those with small income to save. Savings after all, is excess income. In the preceding table, it is shown that high income earners have usually more formal education. We now find that their educational advantage likewise affects their capacity to save. No doubt, with higher income it is easier to save. Nonetheless, let us not discount the possible better fiscal management of our better-educated respondents.

Educational Attainment and Lot Ownership

The respondents are almost equally divided into lot owners and non-owners. Significantly, an equal percentage of 44.1% among the elementary-educated and those with primary or no education own the lot where their houses stand in contrast to 11.8% with high school or better education. In Sections Two and Three, it will be shown that a significant percentage of the better-educated respondents are migrants and are in

Table 4B

Educational Attainment by Savings

Educational Attainment	Has Savings Yes	No	Total
None/Primary	31.9	68.1	100 (72)
Elementary	34.2	65.8	100 (73)
High School and above	59.0	41.0	100 (61)
T o t a l	(84)	(122)	

$X^2 = 13.07$ df = 4 Significant at .01

mining. These data explain the low rate of lot ownership among the better-educated especially for those employed by the mining company who are occupying company-owned houses.

Educational Attainment by Assessment of Present Family Financial Standing

Our data show that among those who have little or no education, 58.8% think that there had been no changes in their status in the community. Of those who have had some elementary education, 40.9% think that there have been some improvements in their lives while a bigger proportion of 60% of those with at least a high school education felt that their status is better today.

Among those who rated their status as better, 48% had at least gone to high school, while among those who thought that their status had worsened, 41.0% had little or no education. It can be noted, therefore, that personal assessment of status is low, negative and supposedly worsening among those who have little or no education. On the other hand, those with higher educational attainment rated their status as better today than in the past.

Educational Attainment by Assessment of Future Family Financial Standing

How is the future viewed by the respondents? The opinion that the future will not be better nor worse than it is at present is shared by 46.1% of all respondents regardless of educational attainment. We find the most number of optimists among the better educated and the most number of pessimists among the less educated.

Table 4C

Educational Attainment by Assessment of Future Financial Status

Educational Attainment	Future Financial Status			
	Better	The Same	Worse	Total
None/Primary	15.4	59.6	25.0	100 (52)
Elementary	40.0	31.1	28.9	100 (45)
High School and above	41.9	45.1	13.0	100 (31)
T o t a l	(39) 30.5	(59) 46.1	(30) 23.4	

In almost all population surveys and programs, fertility gets top billing. The concern for fertility reduction can be expected especially in places where the danger of population growth outrunning available resources exists. In fact, zero population growth is already being bandied about years ago. Thus, the interest in finding out the factors or variables related to low or high fertility is usually high.

Our first concern is the measurement of fertility performance. In this study, it was decided to use three (3) measures of fertility to ensure validity and reliability with one measure counter-checking the other. The three (3) measures are:

NCHILD - the number of children ever born to the women under study.

NBIRTH - the number of births between March 1977 to March 1980 to women under study.

CHLFIVE - the number of children aged 5 years and below at the time of the study.

Comparison of the size of family of orientation and procreation (NCHILD) and family size really wanted and the ideal for an ordinary Filipino family, reveals a trend of decreasing family size and preference for smaller families. While the majority of the respondents come from big families ranging in size from 6 to 9, the more common size of families of procreation ranges from 3 to 5, the mode being 3. As to the number of children really wanted, 3/4 or 75% would have preferred from 3 to 5 children with 38% opting for 3 children only and 8.2% wanting no children at all. Three children is the modal family size of procreation, family size really wanted and ideal family size.

Table 5

Family Size of Orientation and Procreation
Family Size Really Wanted and Ideal Family Size

Family Size	Orientation		Procreation		Really Wanted		Ideal	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0			3		17	8.2	2	
1	5	2.4	18	21.1	6	12.0	1	6.3
2			23		19		10	
3			39		78		78	
4	49	23.8	35	45.2	47	75.0	69	87.0
5			20		31		34	
6			19		6		8	
7			22	30.4	2		3	
8	126	61.2	12		1	4.8	1	6.7
9			10		1		2	
10	26	12.6	4					
11			3	3.4				
Total	206	100.0	208	100.0	208	100.0	208	100.0

The respondents were asked whether they wanted their first child as soon as possible or after some delay. The answer is almost equally split between these two choices with only 6% stating that they did not care one way or the other. The same question was posed to the wives. Findings show 49% of the wives would have wanted to postpone the birth of their first child, 43% wanted to give birth as soon as possible while 8% did not care.

NCHILD by Infant Mortality

There is a high correlation between total number of children (NCHILD) and infant mortality at 5% significance level. In families where infant mortality has not occurred, family size is small (3 or less) as compared to those which reported incidences of infant deaths. Among small families (3 children or less), 90.1% reported no infant deaths and only 9.8% experienced such.

The difference is also apparent in the case of large families (7 or more children). In such families, 20% had no infant deaths while 80% claimed infant mortality. It can be said, therefore, that size seems to be influenced by the occurrence or non-occurrence of infant mortality in a family's life cycle. It can be observed that families tend to be large when such has occurred and seemed to be smaller when no infant mortality was experienced. This could be explained by the parents' desire to be assured of some children who would survive till adulthood and in areas where infant deaths are high, families counteract this early mortality by having more children.

NCHILD by Respondent's Sibling Rank

Although not statistically significant, the relationship between total number of children born per family and the respondents' sibling rank in their family of orientation showed a trend worth noting. Respondents who are the eldest children tend to have smaller families than middle or youngest children. In families with 3 children or less, 45.8% were headed by respondents who were the eldest or first-born children. Middle children tend to have average-sized families (4-6 children) as compared to youngest children who comprised the biggest group of household heads who had 7 or more children at 38.9%.

CHLFIVE by Present Age of Husband

The data on fertility measured by the number of children aged five years and below show a highly significant relationship to the present age of husband-respondents. In households headed by middle-aged men (40 to 64 years) 40.4% had zero fertility while 45.7% of those headed by aged (65 and over) husband reported the same. On the other hand, 52.6% of husbands in their 20's and 47.7% of those in their 30's had 2 or more children aged five years or younger. This would indicate that fertility tends to be highest in families headed by men in their 20's and 30's. This could also be affected by the younger age group to which the wives of those respondents belong to and who are therefore in the peak of their reproductive years. Another possible explanation is that since these are most likely young families, they have not completed their families yet and so are not practising family planning. Older age groups would feel that they have already completed their families and so are not likely to manifest high fertility. Besides, older men are more wary of fathering more children because they fear that they might not be around anymore to provide for them.

NBIRTH by Present Age of Wife

Fertility for the period under study and the wife's present age are significantly related as shown in Table 6. Women in their 20's and early 30's exhibit higher fertility than those in their late 30's and 40's. Among women in their 40's, 68.2% experienced zero fertility for the period under study as compared to 14.8% of those in their 20's. The data would show decreasing fertility with increasing age. In the same context, of the women who had the highest fertility (2 or more births for the period), 39.2% were in their 20's, 29.4% were in their early 30's, 21.6% in their late 30's and 9.8% in their 40's. This would indicate further that although high fertility in older women is still present, such fertility would exhibit an ever decreasing trend as age increases.

CHLFIVE by Present Age of Wife

To assess further the relationship between fertility and age of wife, the number of children aged 5 years and below was also given focus.

Table 6

NBIRTH by Present Age of Wife

	Twenties	Early 30's	Late 30's	Forties	Total
None	12.5 14.8	13.9 20.4	31.9 42.6	41.7 68.2	(72)
One	37.6 52.4	28.2 49.0	28.5 37.0	10.6 20.4	(85)
Two or more	39.2 32.8	29.4 30.6	21.6 20.4	9.8 11.4	(51)
T o t a l	100.0 (61)	100.0 (49)	100.0 (54)	100.0 (44)	

X^2 = 38.52 df = 6 Significant at .0001

Table 7 shows the significant relationship that exists between these two variables. Decreasing fertility is evident with increasing age. Zero fertility was highest among women in their 40's and lowest among women in their 20's. In the same context, high fertility rates were exhibited by women in their twenties and early thirties.

Table 7

CHLFIVE by Present Age of Wife

CHLFIVE	Twenties	Early 30's	Late 30's	Forties
None	11.5	16.3	26.0	56.8
One	34.4	34.6	44.4	20.5
Two or more	54.1	53.1	29.6	22.7
T o t a l	100.0 (61)	100.0 (49)	100.0 (54)	100.0 (44)

X^2 = 36.76 df = 6 Significant at .0001

NCHILD by Age of Husband at Marriage

The husbands' ages at marriage ranged from 16 to 51 years of age. They were divided into 3 groups, namely: those who got married while in their teens, those who were in their twenties, and the late marriage group.

The difference between the early 20's marriage group and the late marriage group in terms of the size of the family that they form is not much. Three family sizes are delineated in the study, namely: small (3 or less), medium-sized (4-6 children), and big family (7 children or more).

The early 20's marriage group ranked first (41.7%) in terms of the smallness of their family size, followed by the late marriage group which accounted for 37.2% of small families while the teen-age group, ranked highest in the medium-sized (4-6 children) family.

It can be said that for those who got married in their early 20's and later, the tendency is to have small families (3 children or less) as compared to the teen-age marriage group who tend to have more (4-6) children.

NBIRTH by Age of Husband at Marriage

With respect to fertility and the husband's age at marriage, the data indicate that those who were married while still in their teens and those who had late marriages (25 years old or over), had higher fertility. However, those who got married in their early 20's tended to have lower fertility than the first two groups mentioned. This is evident from the figures which show that while 36.8% of teen-age marriages and 37.2% of late marriages had zero fertility for the period under study, a smaller group making up 33% of those who married in their early 20's experienced the same. In the case of families with high fertility (2 or more children for the period covered in the study), 28.9% of teen-age marriages and 32.6% of late marriages fall under this category while this was true for only 20.4% of respondents who married in their early 20's. This would imply that those who married in their teens have higher fertility than those who married in their early 20's. It is, furthermore, an apparent implication that late marriages do not necessarily preclude the possibility of higher fertility.

CHLFIVE by Duration of Marriage

Fertility which is based on number of children aged 5 years and below and the duration of the marriage are focused on to determine how long high marital fertility is maintained. High marital fertility in this case, would include all those who have had at least two children aged 5 years or younger. Table 8 shows that among those with high fertility, those who have been married for between 11 to 20 years ranked first (46.3%). This group is followed by those married for 10 years or less (45.1%) and lastly, those married for at least 21 years who accounted for 8.5% of those who had high fertility. It can be observed that although high fertility is characteristic of those who have been married for a shorter period (10 years and below), such fertility is still found in a large proportion of those married for 11 to 20 years. This is also indicative of the longer period it takes for them to complete their families and to attain the desired family size. This incidentally would also indicate that high fertility, although prevalent among those married for shorter period is still observable even among those married for 21 years or more. In fact, 17% of those married for at least 21 years exhibited high fertility.

Table 8

CHLFIVE by Duration of Marriage

CHLFIVE	Duration of Marriage			
	10 years or less	11-20 years	21 years or more	Total
None	14.8	40.7	44.4	(54)
	10.8	24.7	58.5	
One	42.6	42.6	17.7	(68)
	39.2	32.6	24.4	
Two or more	45.1	46.3	8.5	(82)
	50.0	42.7	17.1	
T o t a l	100.0	100.0	100.0	
	(74)	(89)	(41)	

$X^2 = 32.00$ df = 4 Significant at .0001

NCHILD by Residence with Parents

To assess the possible influence that living in extended families can have on fertility in the long term, focus is given to family size in relation to residence with parents of either spouse or of both. It is evident that couples who have lived in extended families tend to have more children than those who have never done so. In fact, 40% of those who had nuclear families throughout their married life had three children or less. This is also true for 39% of couples who had lived with the parents of either spouse. On the other hand, those who had lived with the parents of both spouses tended to have 4 to 6 children. Exactly the same trends are found using the other two measures of fertility. This would indicate the possibility that living in extended families, especially in cases where couples have learned to become dependent on the parents of both spouses, could in fact encourage higher fertility.

NCHILD by Educational Attainment of Wife

The relationship between family size and educational attainment of wife is significant at 5% level. Women with higher educational attainment (high school and college) tend to have less children as compared to those who have no education or have reached the primary (4th grade) level only. In smaller families with 3 children or less, more than one-half are accounted for by mothers who have at least a high school education and/or some college. The trend is the reverse for big families of 7 children or more where 20.8% of the mothers have gone at least to high school, while a bigger proportion of 53.5% have only elementary education at the most. The data collected would therefore indicate that in small families, mothers tend to have higher education while mothers of large families have lower educational attainment.

NCHILD by Exposure to Urban Living

Of the total respondents, 71.6% (149) had no exposure at all to urban living and of the 26.4% who had experienced such, 19.2% did so for at least a year, all the rest stayed for less than a year. In the case of respondents who have lived in urban areas, 43.6% had small

families and only 16.3% had big families. For those who had no urban exposure, 36.9% had big families while 28.2% had small families. This would show that the likelihood of having small families increases with exposure to urban life.

NBIRTH by Exposure to Urban Living

A significant relationship exists between fertility and exposure to urban living. Those who have experienced living in urban areas tended to have lower fertility than those who have not tried living in a city. Although fertility in the no-urban exposure group was greater in the three categories, namely: none (no births), one, and 2 or more births, certain differences between this group and the exposed group are evident. Differences between these groups is greatest in families with two or more children. In fact, among those who had high fertility (2 or more children), only 14.3% had urban exposure while 85.7% had none. The tendency for urban-exposed groups to have less children than those who have no exposure would be further substantiated by data which show that in the urban-exposed group, responses to urban living drastically decreased from 43.6% to 12.7% as fertility levels increased (Table 9).

Table 9

NBIRTH by Exposure to Urban Living

NBIRTH	Exposure to Urban Living		Total
	Exposed	Unexposed	
None	33.8 43.6	66.2 31.5	(71)
One	28.6 43.6	71.4 40.3	(84)
Two or more	14.3 12.7	85.7 28.2	(49)
T o t a l	99.9 (55)	100.0 (149)	

$X^2 = 5.79$ df = 2 Significant at .05

From actual fertility performance, let us digress to attitudes towards fertility and contraception. Do our respondents approve of family planning and if they do, for what reasons? It is to the credit of the family planning program that the concept of fertility reduction is very popular even among the rural populace. Seven out of ten of husband-respondents approve of family planning while there are a little more number of wives in favor of family planning than husbands (73.3% v. 70%).

The most common reason forwarded for approving family planning (which is erroneously made synonymous to birth control), is the family's present economic situation. The respondents realize that additional children will further burden their already tight finances and thus they see family planning increasingly becoming a necessity. The second most common reason given is that they already have all the children they wanted.

For those who are against family planning, the belief that birth control is bad for the health is paramount. Since most of our rural populace engaged in extractive industries believe and think that their only asset is their physical strength, the fear that they might be physically weakened if they will practise birth control puts a virtual brake to family planning campaigns.

Another anxiety about family planning is related to notions of virility and fidelity. A number of husbands opined that vasectomized males are less virile if not downright impotent and it will not be long before their wives will cuckold them. On the other hand, their wives using pills, or are fitted with IUDs or are ligated, may become wanton because the fear of getting pregnant by men other than their husbands is removed.

Does fertility influence thoughts and desire for birth control and family planning? The following data confirm that differential fertility significantly affects thoughts of birth control and the desire to have additional or no more children.

NCHILD by Thought of Birth Control

Close to two-thirds of those who thought of birth control, 41% have already 4 to 6 children at the moment. Among those who have not

given a thought at all to limiting their family size, 44.6% have at present, 3 or less children. It cannot be concluded, however, that it is only after having more than 3 children that our respondents think of birth control since our data also show that an even smaller percentage among those with 7 or more children thought of family size limitation as compared to those with 3 or less children (23.1% v. 35.8%).

NBIRTH by Wife Wanting more Children

Just a little less than 3/4 of the women-respondents indicated the wish to have more children. This wish is inversely related to the number of children they have borne between 1977 to 1980. Thus, we find a decreasing percentage of women wanting additional children as the number of children they have given birth to increases. The figures also show that a bigger percentage of those who had 2 or more children in the last 3 years admitted the desire to stop childbearing compared to those who have borne only one child during the same period. It is highly probable that those who have not given birth in the last 3 years have completed their families already and must have all the children they wanted, thus, they form the biggest percentage of those opting for no more children. The most fertile group (2 or more children in 3 years) on the other hand, possibly feel the difficulties of having children too closely spaced, such that three-quarter of them would rather have no more children.

NBIRTH by Husband Wanting more Children

Compared to the wives, fewer husbands do not want anymore children (71.3% v. 65.4%). The inverse trend of wanting no more children and the number of children their wives gave birth to in the last 3 years holds for the husbands as well. Likewise, those with more fertile wives would prefer not to have anymore children, a little more so than those whose wives gave birth to only one child in the span of 3 years (59% v. 54.68%). The bigger proportion of wives not wanting anymore children in comparison to husbands lends credence to the fact that the women bear the bigger brunt of childbearing and childrearing. Therefore,

given the choice, more wives will opt to have fewer children even if their husbands prefer otherwise.

NCHILD by Wife and Husband Wanting More Children

The wish to have no more children is undoubtedly connected to the present number of children already born. For both husbands and wives (much more so for the latter), the intent to have no more children increases as family size gets bigger. It poses no surprise therefore, that it is more common for married couples to have several children in close succession before they think of birth control than couples deliberately spacing births.

Duration of Marriage by Wife and Husband Wanting More Children

There is a highly significant relationship between length of marriage and the married couples' wish to have more children. For both husbands and wives studied here, 71% and 74% respectively of those married the least number of years (10 years or less) want more children. The reverse is true among those married for 21 years or more with only 4.3% of husbands and 1.9% of wives wanting additional children. Again, this trend is connected to the possibility that older couples have already big and completed family sizes.

Let us now go into differential reproductive performance and some economic-related variables and find out their effect on each other.

NCHILD by Other Income Earners

There is a significant relationship between family size and having or not having a helper in earning a living. It appears that the bigger the family size, the greater the likelihood that the household head is not the sole breadwinner. Interestingly, we find less and less working wives as the family size grows bigger. This trend is reversed where helpers are the children, i.e., those with bigger family size have more children helping out to augment the family finances. There can be a practical reason for these trends. Where the family size is big, the

wives are more occupied keeping house such that they do not have the time to help out in earning a living. Wives with fewer children in contrast, may have more time on their hands and thus can engage in gainful employment. In the case of families with children as helpers, there are two possible explanations. It can be that small-sized families are "new" and incomplete as yet, and the children are still too young to help. Likewise, it is probable that in big-sized families, the children, especially the older ones, are left with no other alternative but to help earn a living. This relationship of family size and having other income earners can be likened to the classical case of the chicken and the egg. It can be just as true that working wives deliberately opt to have fewer children so they can keep on working or women with small-sized families are less tied down with house chores and therefore have time for gainful employment.

CHLFIVE by Other Income Earners

Table 10 shows that respondents who have one or more children aged five years or younger tend to have working wives. On the other hand, respondents whose wives have not borne a child in the last five years are more likely to be the lone income earners, or if not, have children-helpers. These findings should be analyzed in relation to our previous data. It should be kept in mind that those who have not given birth in the last five years might be the same women who have already completed their families, have been married for a longer span of time, have grown-up children and have bigger family size.

Duration of Marriage and Other Income Earners

There is a direct relationship between duration of marriage and having children who help augment the family income. Certainly, those who have been married for a longer time (11 years or longer) are more likely to have grown-up children who can contribute to the family finances. Those who have been married for a shorter period of time tend to be either the sole breadwinner or have their wives as income helpmate.

Table 10

CHLFIVE by Other Income Earners

CHLFIVE	Other Income Earners			Total
	None	Spouse	Children	
None	51.8	20.4	27.8	100.0 (54)
One	39.1	49.3	11.6	100.0 (69)
Two or more	36.5	49.4	14.1	100.0 (85)
T o t a l	(86)	(87)	(35)	

X^2 = 15.38 df = 4 Significant at .004

NCHILD by Assessment of Sufficiency of Income

Insufficient income is a plight shared by 37.2% of respondents whether they have small-, medium-, or big-sized families. However, of the small minority who claims sufficient income, 69.2% have 3 or less children, 23.1% have 4 to 6 children and 7.7% have 6 or more children. Undeniably, income however small, can be stretched farther if there were fewer mouths to feed. The same cannot be claimed even for a bigger income if there are too many depending on it. Sufficiency of income is therefore inevitably relative to the number of individuals dependent on it.

NCHILD by Annual Household Income

While there is no significant relationship between family size and income, it appears that proportionately, there are more in the ₱8,000.00 and above bracket of income-earners who have 3 or less children (38.5%) than among those with 4 to 6 children (36.5%) or those with seven or more children (25%). The same trend is evident in the ₱1,500.00 and below income bracket. This shows that respondents are homogeneous in terms of income. In other words, a majority of those belonging to the 3 occupational groups are earning marginal incomes such that in this case income cannot be a discriminating variable.

NCHILD by Savings

The ability to save and family size are significantly related. While our data indicate that those who have no savings outnumber those with savings 6 to 4, the inability to save is most pronounced among those who have 7 or more children with 3/4 of them having no savings at all. Definitely, the same amount of money will go a longer way for a smaller family than a big one such that it is only to be expected that those with big families find it more difficult to save.

NCHILD by Assessment of Present Economic Standing

By family size, the data show more respondents with 3 or less number of children assessing their present economic status to be better compared to their more prolific counterparts. Concommitantly, this same group with fewer children is least represented among those claiming that their economic situation has worsened. Proportionately, we find more among those who have 4 to 6 children maintaining that they are presently worse off than among those with 7 or more children (41% v. 35.9%). It can be that those families with 7 or more children have older children who are already economically useful which may not be the case for those with 4 to 6 children only.

Section Two: Farmers, Fishermen and Miners

The three types of respondents, namely: farmers, fishermen, and miners are considered in relation to selected factors. This is to assess the influence of occupation on certain motivations, expectations and behavior concerning fertility. This section would first consider the general characteristics of these three different groups before discussing respondent type in relation to selected variables.

With regard to farmers, land ownership is enjoyed by 43 out of 78 respondent-farm families, accounting for 55.2% of the total. Land holdings are relatively small in size; in fact, among those who own the land they till, no one has a farm bigger than 5 hectares. The farms of approximately 58.2% of land owning farmers are less than a hectare in size, 32.6% of them are between 1-2 hectares while 14% are 2-3 hectares.

Although 56.4% of the farmers own animals and equipment, a sizeable portion representing 23% have neither farm equipment nor work animals. There may be 2-3 regular harvests per year but for 66.6% of the farmers, regular production per harvest is only between 76-100 kg. In fact, 82% of them harvest less than 100 kg. of coconut per season. Although involved in a totally different type of job, most of them keep regular working hours just like office workers in cities. As for the total hours of work per day, 89.8% of the farmer-respondents say they work between 5-8 hours daily.

Fishermen-respondents are all small-time, independent fishermen; 97% of them own the boats they use for their livelihood. Boats owned by 64.6% of them are non-motorized while 35.4% own motorized boats. As for the number of boats owned per fisherman, the majority of them accounting for 82% of the total own only one boat. Fishermen seem to keep shorter working hours than farmers; in fact, 40% of them work 1-4 hours a day while none of the farmers work less than 5 hours a day.

Unlike fishermen and farmers who normally own the tools used in their trade, miners usually do not own the equipment they use. This is because of the nature of their occupation and the heavy and expensive equipment needed for mining. In fact, 92% of miner-respondents do not own any work tools at all and instead depend on company-owned equipment.

All the miners included in the study keep regular working hours since mine blasting and related mining activities are more dangerous at night. They work between 5-8 hours a day but rarely any longer. Overtime work is discouraged by the company because of the exhausting work involved and the higher probability of accidents when mine workers work overtime.

While the fisherman's average monthly income is not more than ₱299.00 per month, none of the miners have incomes less than ₱700.00 a month. In fact, 63.5% of miners have incomes between ₱700-₱999.00 monthly; 30.2% earn between ₱1,000-₱2,999.00 while 4.8% have incomes ₱6,000 and above per month.

In terms of skills, training, education, income and exposure to urban life, accessibility to mass media, knowledge of contraception and fertility variables, farmers and fishermen are clearly at a disadvantage compared to miners.

Respondent Type by Place of Origin

The relationship between the respondent's occupation and their place of origin is highly significant at 1% level. Farmers who are natives of the place outnumber fishermen and miners; they compose 56% of native-respondents. Miners seem to be a more migratory group; 65.2% of migrants are miners as compared to 14.1% who are farmers. This can be explained by the fact that owners of small-sized arable land farm these land instead of working in the mines as salaried employees and, since they own property in the place, they would tend to opt to stay there permanently.

Respondent Type by Generational Mobility

The respondents' occupation and generational mobility showed a high correlation at 1% significance level. Miners as a group (97.3%) are more mobile as compared to farmers of whom 97.4% did not experience generational mobility at all. This would indicate that farming as well as fishing (51.6% of fishermen) as occupations are inherited in most cases.

It is interesting to note that the movement from non-agricultural to agricultural occupations was felt most by the miners who accounted for 84.6% of this type of mobility.

Respondent Type by Number of Jobs Held

As a group, the respondents be they fisherman, farmers or miners are not job-hoppers, with a little over one-half of them (51.4) having had no other job except their present jobs. However, sticking to one job is most pronounced among farmers (83.3%) and least prominent among miners (15.8%). Logically, we find that among those who have had three or more jobs since they started working, 30 out of 37 are miners and only 1, a farmer. This significant relationship between the number of jobs held and present occupation may be interpreted in terms of the relative stability or instability of these occupations. Thus, it can be stated that farming as an occupation is more stable than fishing and mining, such that those engaged in it tend to stay onto this job. On the other hand, it is also possible that a particular

occupation attracts particular personalities, such that farming attracts the steady, "stick-to-it", introvert type of men while mining is attractive to the more adventurous change-seeking, extrovert males.

Respondent Type by Job Satisfaction

When asked whether they are satisfied with their jobs, close to two-thirds (64%) affirmed satisfaction. Sixty-nine percent among the fishermen, 68% of farmers and 56% of miners declared satisfaction with their present jobs. It is noteworthy that the reasons given for job satisfaction is almost equally divided into the perception that their job is good and dependable (36%) and a good source of income (15%) and that of a negative assessment of their skills for other jobs (37%) and the inability to find a better job (11%). For those who are dissatisfied with their jobs, the overwhelming reason for dissatisfaction is insufficient income (72%).

Corollary to this, the respondents were asked whether they are willing to learn a new job. Seventy-eight percent answered positively. Thus, it appears that while many claimed satisfaction with their jobs, an even bigger number would want to learn another job. Job dissatisfaction apparently does not have a one-to-one correlation with desire to learn a new job. In other words, even if a person is satisfied with his job, this will not prevent him from wanting to change this same job for something new.

What job would they want to learn? Twenty-one percent gave vague answers, i.e., any job, 23% opted for skilled, technical work. Service occupations like labor and carpentry were the choice of 16.5%; very low in popularity is fishing (3%) and mining (1.5%). In comparison to these two, farming was a lot more popular with 12% choosing it as a job they would want to learn.

Respondent Type by Annual Income

Low monetary income characterizes the respondents, particularly the farmers. Data show that 52% of the total respondents earn ₱1,500.00 or even less per annum, of that 36% are from the farming sector. Miners are better income earners with 91% of them earning ₱8,000.00 or more per year. Caution is called for in analyzing income figures. It should

be pointed out that the real income of farmers and fishermen are depressed by the fact that the produce that they do not sell but consume right at home are not given monetary value and are not reported and recorded as income. On the other hand, salaried miners can easily account for their income which is fixed and regular. Thus, while miners appear to have bigger incomes and more spending money, it is just as true that they have to buy and spend more for necessities than their counterparts in farming and fishing occupations. It is a truism after all that farmers will eat even if they do not have money. This probably explains partly the higher job dissatisfaction among miners despite their bigger income compared to farmers with their lower income. The respondents' assessment of their income sufficiency further substantiates our conjecture. Eight-seven percent assessed their income to be somewhat insufficient to very insufficient. Only 13% assessed their income to be enough for their needs. Not surprisingly, 60% claimed to have no savings. Of those who have savings, 42% are earmarking their savings for their children's education, 33% are saving for their old age, 10% are thinking of emergency situations and an equal 8% plan to build a house or invest in a small business.

Respondent Type by Other Income Earners

There appears to be a highly significant relationship between occupation and having someone to help augment the family income. Among farmers, 81% have working wives compared to 19% and 18% among miners and fishermen respectively. Two-thirds (65%) of the miners and 58% of the fishermen are sole breadwinners. Only a small minority of 8% of the farmers gets no help in earning a living. Yet, ironically as the data on yearly income shows, farmers earn much lower income than miners who are slugging it out alone.

Respondent Type by Assessment of Present Status

Queried about their economic standing at present compared to five years ago, 39% of all respondents feel they are better off, 41% claim their condition at present is about the same while 70% stated they are

worse off now. Two-thirds of those who are presently better off are miners while fishermen constitute 44% of those who are worse off. For 58% of farmers, there appears to be no change in their economic status.

Respondent Type by Assessment of Future Status

Regarding their future economic standing (that is, 5 years hence), an equal proportion of fishermen and miners are optimistic that they will be in a better financial condition. Only 12.8% among the farmers share the same optimism (Table 11). Like their assessment of their present economic status, a majority (66.1%) of farmers think their future status will not change, that it will be the same. This seeming fatalism, lack of optimism and perception of change stand out as a trait more common among the farmers. It may be recalled that a majority of farmers inherited their father's occupation and, therefore, did not experience generational mobility, had had no other job except farming, were born and raised in their present place of residence and have no intentions of leaving. In contrast, miners show optimism about the future, did not inherit their father's occupation, tend to job-hop, are migrants to Marinduque and express more job dissatisfaction despite being better income earners.

Table 11

Respondent Type by Assessment of Future Status

Respondent Type	Future Status		
	Better	The Same	Worse
Fisherman	43.6	18.6	26.7
Farmer	12.8	66.1	63.3
Miner	43.6	15.3	10.0
Total	100.0 (39)	100.0 (59)	100.0 (30)

$X^2 = 31.4$ df = 4 Significant at .0001

Respondent Type by Lot Ownership

Do they own the lot where their homes are built? Seventy percent among fishermen, 67% among farmers and 5% among miners responded positively to this question. The low rate of lot ownership among miners is easily explained by the fact that a great majority of them live in company-owned houses. So among miners, included in their regular expenses is house rentals which is not the case for many fishermen and farmers. The fact that miners will never get to own the house and lot they are presently occupying may also contribute to their job dissatisfaction. This is especially true for Filipinos who put a high premium on property ownership.

Respondent Type by Residence With Parents

To assess family organization and structure, the respondents were questioned concerning their relationship with their families of orientation after they got married. Seventy-eight percent (161 couples) of all the 208 couple-respondents had at one time been living with their parents and were thus members of extended households. Included here is a large proportion of farmers (84.6%) and fishermen (83%) who had lived with the parents of either the husband or wife or both. This is followed by mining families, 65% of whom had stayed with their parents. It could, therefore, be surmised that a sizeable proportion of farmers and fishermen belong to extended families. This could be explained by the nature of these occupations which is labor intensive, so families dependent on these occupations would probably be more tolerant and receptive to the idea of having additional family members.

On the other hand, mining families compose the biggest group (48%) of married couples who had never lived with their parents as compared to 26.6% of farming families and 24.4% of fishing families. This is due to the fact that miners are employed as salaried workers by mining companies which sometimes provide them with company housing so they mostly form nuclear families. Besides, mining sites are far from the family residences of these miners, the majority of whom are migrants.

Respondent Type by Importance of Children

For farmers and fishermen, the importance of children lies in the economic and financial security that they can give their parents. The miners on the other hand, think of this as the least important reason for having children and instead stress the emotional satisfaction involved in childrearing. A possible explanation for this is that children in farming and fishing families actively help their parents in augmenting the family income, in some cases, even before they start going to school. The farm is usually adjacent to the house where they live so the children can easily be called upon to help out especially during the planting and harvesting seasons. The children of fishermen can contribute to the family income by preparing nets or selling the catch at the local market. On the other hand, miners' children are not even allowed to get near the minesite, they are not ready to handle the equipment used by their fathers and so cannot contribute to the financial resources of the family as yet.

Respondent Type by Husband Wanting More Children

Of the total respondents who answered the question whether they still wanted to have more children, 34.6% of the husband-respondents said they wanted more while 65.4% answered in the negative.

Among those who wanted more children, fishermen ranked first, followed by farmers and lastly, miners. Miners logically ranked highest in the group of husband-respondents who did not want additional children.

Respondent Type by Wife Wanting More Children

While the relationship between husband's occupation and the wife's desire to have more children is not statistically significant, it is interesting to find out that as a whole, proportionately more wives than husband do not want additional children (71% v. 65%). The trend by occupation however, closely follows that of the husbands. Proportionately,

more fishermen's wives want more children while more miners' wives prefer not to have additional children.

Respondent Type by Approval of Family Planning

Miners overwhelmingly endorse the reduction of births (96%). Among farmers, 67% approve of family planning. Approval is lowest among fishermen at 47%. These findings are consistent with the previous data where it appears that more fishermen wanted additional children in comparison to farmers and miners.

Respondent Type by Wife's Approval of Family Planning

The wife's tendency to hold the same opinion as her husband's is once more apparent. Wives of miners, like their husbands, almost unanimously approve of family planning (96%). Similarly the proportion of the wives of farmers for and against birth control is closely similar to that of their spouses. Wives of fishermen chose to be more independent-minded with more of them for family planning compared to their husbands (58.5% v. 47%).

Let us now go into actual fertility and see if there are differences by occupational groupings.

CHLFIVE by Respondent Type

With regards to fertility measured by the number of children aged five years and younger, the data show that farming families tend to have higher fertility than fishing or mining families. In this case, while 25.9% of farming families as compared to 35.2% of fishing families and 38.9% of those in mining reported no children of ages five years and below, 38.8% of farming families confirmed having 2 or more children of these age group as compared to 25.9% for mining families. This could be related to the fact that farming families see in their children a financial and security crutch whose help they can depend on in later years.

NCHILD by Respondent Type

Mining families tend to be smaller in size than farming and fishing families. In fact, 41.3% of mining families have 3 children or less, while 20.6% have 7 or more. In the case of farming families, although 39.7% of them have 3 children or less, they outrank other types of families in the 7 or more category. This can be partly explained by the fact that it is easier for farm families to absorb new members than other types of families. Farm children can be active economic units much earlier than children from mining families and are actually looked upon as possible productive manpower rather than as users of resources which only the head can generate as in the case of miners.

Section Three: Natives and Migrants

The general characteristics of the population with regard to duration of stay and origin, whether native or migrant, are presented here. This is followed by a discussion of the dichotomy in relation to other relevant variables.

The term native would refer to a resident who was born in any of the three places included in the study, namely: Pulong-Parang, Angas and Kilo-Kilo. Migrant would refer to a resident who was born in a place other than those included in the study. New Migrants would refer to those migrants who have been in the place for less than five years. Old Migrants are those migrants who have been in the place between five to ten years. Semi-Natives are migrants who have been residents for over ten years.

As shown in Table 12, more than half of the heads-of-family are natives of the place, accounting for 113 or 54.4% of the total. Within the migrant category, the biggest concentration is composed of those who have lived in the place between 5 to 10 years. Most of the migrant-respondents were married when they migrated. This accounts for 95 or 88% of all migrants. The main reason for migrating were economic and job-related factors with 69 out of 95 migrant-respondents or 72.6% migrating for this reason. This is followed by 12.6% who did so because of marriage. Ownership of real estate property in the place also served as a pull factor, attracting 6.3% of the migrants.

Table 12

Duration of Stay in the Area

Duration of Stay	Frequency	Percent
Since birth	113	54.4
Less than 5 years	24	11.5
5-10 years	36	17.3
Over 10 years	35	16.8
T o t a l	208	100.0

Spatial movement was limited and involved short distances. Table 13 shows that 60.4% of all migrants undertook movement only from one barrio to another in the same municipality. Just a little over 1/4 of the migrants moved from other places but these movements were again restricted within the same province. Only 12.1% of migrants account for movement from outside Southern Luzon.

Table 13

Origin of Migrants

Origin	Frequency	Percent
Another barrio in Sta. Cruz	55	60.4
Within Marinduque	24	26.4
Within Southern Luzon	1	1.1
Outside Southern Luzon	11	12.1
T o t a l	91	100.0
NR	4	

Among both natives and migrants, the desire to stay on in the place has been manifested by 72.2% as compared to 27.8% who had no intention to stay. It must also be noted that just as economic and job-related forces served as pull factors, these were the very same reasons pushing people out of the place.

Origin and Duration of Stay
by Annual Income

It appears that the natives maintain only a numerical superiority over migrants. In terms of income, the migrants have the upper hand with some of them earning six or more times than an average native. The migrants were further split by duration of stay in the area and here it is found that the recent migrants (those who moved in less than 5 years ago) are more similar in earning capacity to the natives. Those who have stayed in the area 5 years or longer are mostly in the ₱8,000 and above income bracket.

It should be pointed out that it is not nativeness per se that influences earning capacity. We have previous data showing a very clear income distinction by educational attainment. It can therefore, be safely inferred that the better educated and the migrants are mostly one and the same respondents.

Origin by Number of Jobs Held

The natives, like the poorly educated respondents, tend to hold on to their jobs. The migrants in contrast, have had at least two jobs since they joined the employed rank. Again, the variance between natives and migrants in terms of the number of jobs they have held may be linked to their educational attainment. On the other hand, being footloose, adventurous, and prone to job-hopping, can be indications of a particular personality typified by migrants.

Origin and Duration of Stay by
Having Other Sources of Income

Over one half of the total respondents have no other source of income except that of the household head's job (52.2%). In migrant households, 70.3% have sole breadwinners compared to 37.7% of native households. This difference between natives and migrants still holds even after dividing the migrants into recent migrants, oldtimers, and semi-natives. It is a fact then that despite having other sources of income, a majority of the natives are earning less than their migrant counterparts.

Origin by Assessment of Income

Natives and migrants were asked to assess their income to determine how each group feels about the sufficiency of their earnings. Natives seem to be the most financially unsatisfied group considering that among those who said that their income is very insufficient, 75.9% are natives as compared to 24.6% who are migrants. In the same context, Table 14 also shows that a large proportion of migrants (73.1%) as compared to only 26.9% of natives think their income is enough.

Table 14

Origin by Assessment of Income

Origin	Enough	Somewhat Insufficient	Very Insufficient
Natives	26.9	49.5	75.3
Migrants	73.1	50.5	24.7
T o t a l	100.0 (26)	100.0 (105)	100.0 (73)

$X^2 = 21.78$ df = 2 Significant at .0001

Origin by Present Status

The place of origin of the respondent, was considered in relation to assessment of their present economic status. Natives of the place usually feel that compared to 5 years ago, their standard of living has not changed at all. This involved 50.9% of those who are native-born. A large proportion of migrants think that their life today is better than in the past. Migrants on the whole, tend to be more satisfied with their status as indicated in Table 15 wherein among those who said their life today is better, 62.6% are migrants. On the other hand, natives do not seem to think that there will be positive changes at all. They account for 68.8% of those who think that life today is about the same as in the past. Almost 2/3 of those who think that life today is worse than in the past are natives as compared to 35.9% who are migrants.

Table 15

Origin by Present Status

Origin	Better	The same	Worse
Native	37.3	68.8	64.1
Migrant	62.7	31.2	35.9
T o t a l	100.0 (75)	100.0 (80)	100.0 (39)

$X^2 = 16.88$ df = 2 Significant at .0002

Origin by Future

While a majority of migrants look to the future with optimism, opining it will be better than it is at present, most of the natives view the future with trepidation believing it will be worse, or at best the same as present. Since outlook of the future tends to be anchored on present realities, for those living in more or less pleasant conditions in the present, the future tends to be rosy. For the less fortunate ones having present difficulties, the future can look bleak indeed. The migrants being better educated, earning rather well, have reasons to be optimistic. Not so the poorly educated, low-income natives.

Origin/Duration of Stay by Lot Ownership

Ownership of their house and lot is the proud cliam of over three-quarters of the native respondents. Among non-natives or migrants who constitute 44.2% of our total sample, lot ownership comes with the length of their stay in the area. Thus, we find a higher percentage of lot ownership among migrants who have stayed in the area for 10 years or longer than among recent migrants.

Still, the paramount factor in lot ownership is their present occupation. For miners living in company-owned houses for example, it is a virtual impossibility. The few miners who own their house and lot live outside Marcopper. Since intention of staying permanently in

an area is invariably tied to property ownership, respondents who admitted their plans to move out, most likely do not own the house and lot they are presently occupying.

NCHILD by Plans of Staying in the Area

Respondents were divided into those who plan to stay in the place for good (148 of all respondents or 71.2%) and those who are planning to leave (58 of the total or 27.8%) in an attempt to find out how this is affected by the number of children they have and vice-versa. It has been noted that among big families (7 children or more), 77.4% plan to stay in the place permanently and 22.6% plan to leave. In the case of small families (3 children or less), 69.2% will stay on while 30.8% intend to leave. This would indicate that those who have no intention of staying permanently are people with smaller families. This may be due to the fact that it is easier to transfer residence when it involves less people so that the presence of a bigger family might act as a deterrent to out-migration. On the other hand, it is also possible that if a family has no intention of moving out of an area, the birth of more children, especially in farming and fishing families, would in fact be welcomed.

CHLFIVE by Origin

Nowhere is the native-migrant difference more evident than in the fertility trends of such families in the past five years. Zero fertility was reported by 44.4% of native families and by 55.6% of migrant families. However, high fertility (2 or more children aged 5 years or below) is evident in 62.4% of native families as compared to 37.6% of migrant families. In other words, among migrants, zero fertility is more common while among natives, high fertility is more apparent.

NCHILD by Origin

The number of children that natives and migrants have were compared and the findings show that in families wherein the household head is a native of the place, the tendency to have more children is more prevalent

than in migrant families. In fact, 64.2% of families with 7 or more children are headed by respondents who are natives of the place while 35.8% are headed by migrants. This can be accounted for by several factors, one of which is the feeling of impermanence that migrants are confronted with and the need to strive harder than natives in order to succeed, both of which act as deterrents to fertility. The large circle of friends and kin that natives have accumulated over the years also serve to cushion hardships encountered in periods of financial distress. Furthermore, since most native families are farming families, the economic contribution of children to total family income is greater than whatever financial gain can be realized from children in migrant families where the heads are mostly salaried employees in the mining company.

NCHILD by Duration of Stay

The number of children per family has a significant relationship with the respondents' length of stay in the community. The tendency is for migrant families who have not stayed long in the place to have smaller families than those who are natives or other migrants who have stayed longer. This is evident from the figures which show that 69.6% of migrant-respondents who are recent arrivals have 3 children or less. The increasing likelihood of having more children as migrant families settle down gradually is evident in the case of old migrant families. The biggest portion of this group (44.4%) have 4-6 children while 38.8% of the same group have 3 children or less, a figure much less than that of the new group of migrants.

It is also evident that although migrant families are generally smaller in size than native families, there are variations in fertility trends within the migrant group itself. Differences between the new arrivals and the semi-natives are indicated. Moreover, in the case of big families, the old migrant group shows closer fertility characteristics with the native group than the other migrant groups.

Chapter Five

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Socio-demographic variables such as residential tenure, educational attainment of both spouses, age at marriage, number of dependents and household size were focussed on in relation to economic, attitudinal, family structure and fertility variables.

Economic variables investigated involved occupation of household head, household income, number of income earners, length of employment and number of jobs held, among others.

Attitudinal variables on the other hand, included desired family size, attitudes toward parenthood, attitudes toward contraception, personal aspirations and related factors.

Family structure variables included family size, number of children, type of family, length of marriage and residence with parents after marriage.

In establishing standards of high and low fertility levels, the number of children below five years of age, the number of births for the period under study and completed family size are utilized.

Among the various socio-demographic variables, residential tenure, that is, native-migrant differences were most pronounced. High fertility (2 or more births in 7 years) is evident in 62.4% of native families as compared to about half that figure among migrant families. A significant relationship exists between the number of children per family and the respondents' length of stay in the community. Families wherein the household heads are natives of the place tend to have more children than the families of migrants. Noteworthy too are the variations in fertility trends within the migrant group itself. The old migrant group (over 10 years residence) share fertility characteristics with the native group rather than with other migrant groups.

Attitudinal variables indicate that the concept of fertility reduction is widely accepted even among the rural populace; in fact, seven out of ten husband-respondents approve of family planning. Wives also almost unanimously approve of such measures. The greater financial burden that additional children would entail was the main reason for approving family planning. Those against it cite its negative effects on health and virility.

Measured according to occupation of household heads, respondents who want to have more children are the fishermen followed by farmers and lastly, by miners. Farmers and fishermen believe that children are important for the economic and financial security they give their parents. Miners think this is the least important reason for having children and instead stress the emotional satisfaction they derive from having children.

With regards to generational occupational mobility, vertical generational mobility was experienced mostly by miner-respondents. This indicates that farming and fishing, unlike mining, are inherited occupations. Thus, we find that farmers and fishermen are sons of farmers and fishermen as well.

As for relationships with families of orientation after marriage, a sizeable proportion of couple-respondents accounting for 78.2% of all respondents had at one time been members of extended households. This included 84.6% of farming families, 83% of fishing and 65% of mining families.

Couples who at some point in their married life had been members of an extended household of both spouses' parents tended to have more offspring than those who lived with the parents of only one spouse or those who have been nuclear throughout. Measured by current type of family, higher fertility is more evident in extended than in nuclear families.

Farming families tend to have higher fertility than fishing or mining families. High fertility (2 or more births in the past three years) is reported for 38.8% of farming families as compared to 35.2% of fishing and 25.8% of mining families. As a corollary to this, farming households in terms of family size, outrank fishing and mining households. As pointed out, farm children can actively contribute in economic production at a much earlier age than those from other types of households wherein children remain as consumers of resources which only the household head can generate.

It will be remembered that in Chapter Three, the community data show that the mining community of Kilo-Kilo accounted for 43.54% of total births in the three communities for the year 1979-1980, out-ranking Pulong-Parang (24.2%) and Angas (22.5%). This finding seems to contradict

the fertility data of the sample population where Pulong-Parang topped Angas and Kilo-Kilo in terms of more reported births in the past three years. It should be pointed out that the sample population includes only couples where the husbands are involved in the community's major industry and the wives are in their reproductive years. On the other hand, our community data also include information from non-eligible households. In Kilo-Kilo particularly, there are a number of farming families since the mining households are mostly confined to the site at Marcopper.

Decreasing fertility becomes marked with increasing age. Higher rates were exhibited more by women in their twenties and early thirties than those in their late thirties and forties. It cannot, however, be discounted that high fertility in older women persists. This involves 9.8% of those in their forties and 21.6% of women respondents in their late thirties. However, such high fertility shows a decreasing trend with maturity.

The size of the respondents' family of orientation does not seem to have a bearing on the number of children they beget in their family of procreation. In general, respondents would opt for smaller families regardless of the size of their family of orientation. However, sibling rank in the family of orientation and family size in the family of procreation indicate a trend worth noting. Respondents who are the eldest tend to have smaller families than middle or youngest children.

With regard to fertility and duration of marriage, high fertility (at least 2 births in the past 3 years) is prevalent among those married for between 11 to 20 years followed closely by those married 10 years or less. However, high marital fertility is still observable, among 17.1% of those married for 21 years or more.

In the case of family size and infant mortality, the figures indicate that families tend to be larger when such have occurred in the family.

To recapitulate: The typical farmer-respondent has a bigger household and family size. His wife who helps him in the lighter farm chores, exhibits higher fertility. He is geographically and occupationally non-mobile, being a second generation native and farmer. He is satisfied with his job but would be willing to learn another, given the chance. He owns his house

and lot and the small parcel of land he tills. It can be an indication of his virtual immobility that he assessed his present and future economic status to be the same as with the past. He pales in comparison to his mining counterpart in terms of formal education, income generation capability, urban life exposure, access to mass media and knowledge of contraception.

The average fisherman shares more characteristics with his farming counterpart; in fact, a number of them started out as farmers. He is different from the typical farmer and more like the miners on only two points: he has had more than one job and his wife is usually not an income earner.

In general, our miner-respondent has the advantage over those in farming and fishing occupations in almost all respects except with regards to lot ownership and primacy in the area, they being migrants to Sta. Cruz.

This study found significant differences among the three occupational groups in terms of fertility, selected attitudinal variables, and to a limited extent, family structure. It will be misleading, however, to claim that these differences are inherent to the occupations studied, per se. In other words, being a farmer, a fisherman or a miner, will not in itself alone predispose low or high fertility nor predetermine attitudes. However, there is no discounting the fact that an occupation by virtue of its prerequisites for particular skills, training and aptitude, as well as its monetary and emotional remunerations, cannot help but influence attitudes and behavior.

Due to the small size of our sample, we did not crosstabulate attitude towards contraception and fertility performance with that of occupation, income, exposure to urban life, access to mass media and native-migrant dichotomy, holding educational attainment constant. We strongly suspect that education would have come out to be the most important determinant of knowledge, attitude and practice of family planning as well as fertility behavior. Where educational attainment is the same, differences along occupational groups, income and social classes, rural-urban dichotomy, access to mass media and similar variables, will be greatly diminished. Thus the close similarity of farmers and fishermen and their apparent difference from the miners with

regard to fertility performance may be explained by the similar educational background of our farming and fishing respondents and the educational advantage that miners hold over the two others.

What are the implications of the findings of this study on family planning policies and programs? The established fact that there are differences in attitudes toward contraception and fertility along occupational groups logically points to the necessity of designing family planning programs that recognize these differences. Group-specific programs would have better chances of success than programs that are too general in scope and application. This is of course, based on the assumption that group-specific programs have already identified and considered the unique characteristics and problems of the target group prior to implementation. We are not suggesting, however, that the present general policies and programs be done away with; rather, they should serve as guidelines for group-specific policies and programs.

It is to the credit of agencies involved in family planning particularly the Population Commission, Population Center Foundation and Family Planning Organization of the Philippines, that the concept of family planning has been brought to the attention of men and women even in far-flung areas of the country. The phrase "family planning" has become part of the local vernacular to the point that there is no need anymore to translate it in the dialect. The same is true for family planning methods such as pills, intra-uterine device and condom. While the acceptance of the idea of family planning is quite high, practice of the same is another matter. The problem seems to stem from the many misconceptions attached to family planning methods being propagated. It is a common belief among our respondents that the methods being bandied about like pills, IUDs, vasectomy and ligation are not fit for people who do strenuous work. They believe that they will not be as strong as before and will not be able to carry on with their work if they use any of the above methods. It usually happens that where for example, there are twenty acceptors of a method and one developed ill effects for whatever reason, all the rest will become wary of continuing and in great likelihood will discontinue using the said method if it can be discontinued or will perpetually worry about ill consequences if they had opted for permanent contraceptive methods.

Another misconception specifically for vasectomy involves virility. Many males are of the opinion that vasectomized males lose their virility and become impotent. Probably the cause lies in the wrong translation of the term "vasectomy" to "Kapon" (castrate) in the local dialect, thus leading them to reject the idea outright.

On the other hand, with methods that are for women like pills, IUD or ligation, the anxiety is that the wife may become unfaithful since the danger of pregnancy by men other than her husband is removed.

Since the concept of family planning is already popular and people are cognizant of its necessity, the problems that remains is how to achieve wider practice of family planning. The strategy should involve first and foremost, the development of effective, safe, economical, convenient and simple contraceptive methods. Secondly, fears and misconceptions regarding family planning aids should be allayed. Propagators of contraceptive methods should anticipate the possible objections and all these must be thoroughly threshed out so acceptance will be made without trepidation.

It is a fact that incidence of infant mortality is higher in impoverished sectors since pre-and post-natal malnutrition is common. It has been shown likewise that in families where infant mortality has occurred, the tendency is to have more children to better insure having children growing to adulthood. The course of action is quite clear in this case: improvement of pre- and post-natal nutrition and sanitary conditions so that incidence of infant mortality will be minimized, if not totally eliminated.

Where children, even at an early age are considered to be an economic asset, the idea of having fewer children will not gain headway. While child labor whether in urban or rural area is technically illegal, it is virtually impossible to go after those involved in it since for the households involved, the need for the fruit of child labor is more immediate than the danger posed by going against the law.

All these point inevitably to the necessity for concerted effort in the development of the total well-being of the rural poor. The piecemeal approach to family planning will not do since high fertility is not a simple cause but the result of a gamut of socio-economic factors. The rural poor will remain shackled to and pass on to their children an oppressive cycle of minimal education, antiquated tools

and methods, low income, malnutrition, high infant mortality and high fertility, until and unless the cycle is broken. Obviously, family planning has a vital role to play in breaking this cycle. Just as obvious, however, is the fact that it should never be the end-all of socio-economic development.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Caplow, Theodore. The Sociology of Work (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1954).

Engracia, Luisa T. and Kim Yun. Fertility Differentials Among Filipino Women (Manila: NCSO, 1979).

Gonzales, Myrna C., Alegre, Marietta P. and Cross, Anne R. An Analysis of Cumulative Fertility in the Philippines Using 1975 Census Data (Manila: NCSO, 1979).

Hall, Richard H. Occupations and the Social Structure (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969).

Thomlinson, Ralph. Demographic Problems (California: Dickinson Publishing Co., 1967).

A Development Plan for the Province of Marinduque. Report submitted to Marinduque Provincial Planning and Development Commission by Center for Research and Communication (Manila, August 1974).

Marinduque Integrated Area Development Plan. Prepared by Program Planning and Development Department, National Council on Integrated Area Development (Manila, 1975).

SEAPRAP

THE SOUTHEAST ASIA POPULATION RESEARCH AWARDS PROGRAM

PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

* To strengthen the research capabilities of young Southeast Asian social scientists, and to provide them with technical support and guidance if required.

* To increase the quantity and quality of social science research on population problems in Southeast Asia.

* To facilitate the flow of information about population research developed in the program as well as its implications for policy and planning among researchers in the region, and between researchers, government planners and policy makers.

ILLUSTRATIVE RESEARCH AREAS

The range of the research areas include a wide variety of research problems relating to population, but excludes reproductive biology. The following are some examples of research areas that could fall within the general focus of the Program:

* Factors contributing to or related to fertility regulation and family planning programs; familial, psychological, social, political and economic effects of family planning and contraception.

* Antecedents, processes, and consequences (demographic, cultural, social, psychological, political, economic) of population structure, distribution, growth and change.

* Family structure, sexual behaviour and the relationship between child-bearing patterns and child development.

* Inter-relations between population variables and the process of social and economic development (housing, education, health, quality of the environment, etc).

* Population policy, including the Interaction of population variables and economic policies, policy implications of population distribution and movement with reference to both urban and rural settings, and the interaction of population variables and law.

* Evaluation of on-going population education programs and/or development of knowledge-based population education program.

* Incentive schemes — infrastructures, opportunities; overall economic and social development programs.

SELECTION CRITERIA

Selection will be made by a Program Committee of distinguished Southeast Asian scholars in the social sciences and population. The following factors will be considered in evaluating research proposals:

1. relevance of the proposed research to current issues of population in the particular countries of Southeast Asia;
2. its potential contribution to policy formation, program implementation, and problem solving;
3. adequacy of research design, including problem definition, method of procedure, proposed mode of analysis, and knowledge of literature;
4. feasibility of the project, including time requirement; budget; and availability, accessibility, and reliability of data;
5. Applicant's potential for further development.

DURATION AND AMOUNT OF AWARDS

Research awards will be made for a period of up to one year. In exceptional cases, requests for limited extension may be considered. The amount of an award will depend on location, type and size of the project, but the maximum should not exceed US$7,500.

QUALIFICATIONS OF APPLICANTS

The Program is open to nationals of the following countries: Burma, Indonesia, Kampuchea, Laos, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam. Particular emphasis will be placed on attracting young social scientists in provincial areas.

Applications are invited from the following:

* Graduate students in thesis programs

* Faculty members

* Staff members in appropriate governmental and other organizations.

Full-time commitment is preferable but applicants must at least be able to devote a substantial part of their time to the research project. Advisers may be provided, depending on the needs of applicants.